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to enlist the interest of generous and wealthy givers to help sustain our cause. The success of such efforts should be the more easily obtained because of the fact that the advancement of this movement by diminishing the perils of war would result in doing away with many existing moral and material evils, and would also render available for the solution of the most pressing social problems the enormous sums of money which are expended to pay for useless armaments.

2. The Congress recommends that efforts be made to obtain money for prizes to be offered in the different countries for the most practical proposals for obtaining necessary funds for propaganda. The initiative may be taken by the Berne Bureau in conference with the peace workers in each land.

THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION PROGRAM.

The following resolution, recommended by Commission "C" and representing the work of several American members, was referred to the next Congress:

The commission recommends:

1. That special stress be laid upon international justice as the foundation upon which permanent peace must repose.

2. That the various peace organizations in all countries should coöperate with each other and with the Interparliamentary Union, wherever possible, for the carrying out of the resolutions approved by said Union at London in favor of: (1) Periodic conferences of the governments; (2) a general treaty of arbitration granting jurisdiction to the International Court in a defined area; (3) investigation, conciliation or mediation in all cases, prior to appeal to arms; (4) such national study of the question of limitation of armaments as must precede a fruitful international discussion of this question; (5) inviolability of private property at sea in time of war; (6) annual grants by national governments in aid of the Interparliamentary Union and in furtherance of international peace.

3. That a special commission, composed of the President and Secretary of this Congress, the President and Secretary of the Berne Bureau and such other persons as they may designate, take such steps as may seem expedient for the carrying out of these resolutions, and especially the resolution in favor of a peace budget to be expended as may seem proper to the governments making such appropriations; but the committee is charged with the duty of formulating and presenting to the proper persons a plan of expenditure in the organization of international visits by lawmakers, editors, educators, etc.

4. That the said special committee assist, whenever possible, in the strengthening of the Interparliamentary Union, and especially by propaganda, with a view to securing declarations by candidates for national parliaments in favor of the purposes of the Interparliamentary Union and assurances that they will join the said Union and prosecute its work, if elected to their national parliaments.

APPEAL TO THE NATIONS.

[This Appeal to the Nations, on account of the death of Mr. Ducommun, Secretary of the Berne Peace Bureau, who had usually prepared the Appeals, had to be hastily drawn up at the last moment, and is therefore much briefer and less satisfactory than usual.]

The Anglo-French agreement has been followed by an Anglo-Russia agreement. Questions which had been pending for years have been settled by the negotiations of a few months. The event has shown that the supposed irreconcilable antagonism of the nations was a pure phantom. During the last few years a series of alliances and *ententes* have bound together almost all the European states.

The possibility of an international organization has been demonstrated by the friendly coöperation of representatives of all the powers at The Hague, for a period of three months. The civilized world is ripe for federation. It exists already in fact. But unhappily it does not exist in law, and armaments are becoming more formidable and more ruinous than ever. By a contradiction which seems truly revolting, the less the danger of attack, the greater the preparations for war and for defense.

Such opposition between the social state of the civilized world and its political institutions cannot last forever. The so-called governing classes cannot divest themselves of their true function, which is to march boldly forward in the interests of the people.

If these so-called governing classes persist in misunderstanding the needs of our time, if they are so blind as to hinder progress instead of accelerating it, they will bring upon themselves and on civilized society the most grave dangers. Instead of organizing in time the federation of Europe, they will help to bring about the most terrible social disasters.

Correspondence.

[Though somewhat late, we are glad to publish this letter from Sir Thomas Barclay, whose eminent services to the cause of international arbitration and peace are well known.—ED.]

EDITOR OF THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE:

In your always excellent *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, which I never fail to read from beginning to end, I find in the July number an error which I should like to correct. At page 159, referring to the International Conciliation Association having taken as a part of its work the promotion of international visits, you cite a number of cases which you seem to attribute to this excellent institution. It has such a good record that I may be permitted to point out that it was the International Brotherhood Alliance which began this work of international visits and has made such visits its chief object. Of the visits you mention, those between the workmen of Great Britain, France, Belgium and Germany have taken place or are taking place under the auspices of the International Brotherhood Alliance. The intermunicipal visits were suggested and negotiated exclusively by myself, and if I claim to be identified with them it is that I have no right to let others have the credit of the work, which has been extremely difficult and absorbing.

As regards intercommercial visits, I may also claim that the first of them, the meeting in Paris in 1900 of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Great Britain, was also entirely my work. Others will no doubt claim the authorship of several of the other items you mention. There is work in international visits for every one. But of all these visits, those which have been most prolific, both from the point of view of friendly feeling and of the educational benefit derived from them, are certainly those

between the workingmen of Great Britain and other countries.

I may perhaps, therefore, be allowed to lay before your readers the very simple program of the International Brotherhood Alliance. Its short title is "the F. I. G." standing for *Fraternitas Inter Gentes*. The subscription is thirty cents for life membership and a badge. Its regulations are as follows:

1. This Brotherhood is non-political and non-sectarian and is open to men of all nationalities and all shades of opinion.
2. Its object is to band together men of all nationalities in a common organization, to promote friendly feeling between nations, and to discourage all tendencies to mutual jealousy and distrust.
3. The Brotherhood will seek to promote the above object by encouraging personal intercourse and the interchange of visits between members of different nations, by holding public meetings, and by employing all other legitimate means.
4. The affairs of the Brotherhood in each country shall be managed by a President, one or more Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Honorary Secretaries, and a Committee, to be elected at quinquennial general meetings of members in each country. The Committee shall have power to add to their number. The term of office in each case shall be five years, and in the event of the death or resignation of any Officer, the Committee are empowered to fill the vacancy.
5. Local Branches of the Brotherhood may be formed, with power to elect their own Officers and Committees.
6. A General International Council of the Brotherhood shall be formed as soon as two or more National Committees shall have been organized. It shall be composed of a number of delegates to be appointed by the National Committees in proportion to the population of their respective countries.
7. The Local Secretaries shall enroll the names and addresses of members in a book to be especially kept for the purpose, and periodical returns shall be made to the National Secretary, and by him to the General International Council.
8. The only qualification necessary for membership shall be the expression of sympathy with the aim as set forth above.

The pledge runs thus: "I hereby pledge myself to do what I can to promote goodwill and friendly feeling between men of my own country and those of other nations."

Would it not be possible to create a branch of this excellent Brotherhood in Boston, and in this way bring some of the workingmen of the United States over to visit their fellow-workmen of England and France? I should be glad to receive any communication on the subject at the above address. Yours faithfully,

THOMAS BARCLAY.

The Causes of War.

BY COUNT TAISUKE ITAGAKI.

[This "Open Letter to the President of the Hague Conference," first published by the Japan Peace Society at Tokyo, we are very glad to reprint. It not only serves to show the deep interest which the intelligent minds of the East are taking in the cause of peace, but also reveals the point of view from which the problem presents itself to those who have heretofore suffered much from certain causes of war, well known to all intelligent observers of the colonial policies of the strong powers during the past century.]

To His Excellency, the President of the Hague Conference, this document is respectfully presented:

As a citizen of a Far Eastern Empire, my thoughts are always concerned with the problem of international peace. The first World's Peace Conference was called by His Majesty, the Czar of Russia, in 1899, and now the summoning of the second Conference by the same monarch is a cause for unspeakable joy and congratulation. But if it be permitted to make suggestions to wise men

for their further completion, I cannot refrain from saying a few words relative to the coming Peace Conference.

If one desires to stop a stream of water there is nothing better than to go back and stop the fountain. So the question arises, which is better, to remove the causes of international disputes, and thus do away with the woes of war, or, after complications have arisen and hostilities have actually commenced, try to check the cruelties and barbarities of war?

Although the sovereigns and authorities of the great powers, with their scholars and leading men, are working hard for the promotion of peace, the number of international disputes does not lessen, and the people of all nations, fearing the outbreak of war, are never at ease. This is because the fountain of war is not stopped.

There are, I believe, three causes of war: (1) Taking possession of foreign land by force, for the purpose of territorial expansion; (2) refusing other nationalities the privileges of commerce; (3) the exclusion of other races. If we can remove these causes of war, even the most barbarous nations cannot make war upon other countries. By means of mutual intercourse and trade, the inhabitants of the world may come into perpetual joy and happiness.

Since the object of the founding of nations and the principle of mutual intercourse and trade are interdependent, a government opposed to the principle of mutual intercourse and trade is by no means founded upon right principles. And foreign invasion for forcible territorial expansion is born of absolutism and militarism. Since it is the common people who suffer most of the pain of war, war is in most cases the enemy of the people. Therefore, in a country based upon liberality and equality, with provision for free decision of questions by public opinion, peace principles win; while in a country ruled by absolutism and militarism, where the rights and interests of the people are violated and no importance is attached to public opinion, territorial aggressiveness is always strong. The principles of peace and absolutism cannot exist together. The principle of mutual intercourse does not accord with forcible invasion and land-grabbing. I am forced to say that the form of government which depends upon the will of one man, regardless of the peace and happiness of the common people, is most unsuitable to the promotion of international peace.

The same is true of commercial exclusion. This is the age of tariff wars among the powers. The building of high walls and the continual fighting present to our eyes a cruel and horrible sight. As a result of this struggle men do not cease until they have monopolized the markets, trying always to expand their sphere of influence, and annexing other lands to their territory by military force. The proverb "Commerce follows the flag" gives expression to this thought. The monopoly of markets results in raising the tariff rates and prohibiting other people from the privileges of trade, thus in the end destroying international peace. Therefore, if we desire at all to maintain international peace, a world's tariff conference should be opened prior to the International Peace Conference. It is necessary to remove the economic causes of war by allowing such a rate of tariff as is necessary for the protection of national industries, and yet not so unreasonable as to violate the principle of mutual intercourse and trade.